1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

is at Tangier. Westermarck plots a wide distribution for the custom,[1] and shows that it is a survival of a midsummer rite.[2]

The religious feasts of Mohammedan origin celebrated in the Rif are *el Ashor*, *el Mulud*, the month of *Ramadan*, the *Aid es Sghir* at the end of this month, and the *Aid el Kebir*.

The *Ashor* serves chiefly as a vacation for the school children, and is not otherwise important. Many do not even know when it is in force.

On the *Mulud* the women of the *bone* cook coarsely ground barley into a mush and carry it to the mosque, early in the morning, where all the children of the *bone* eat it together. In the evening the men buy a bull or cow by subscription and sacrifice it in front of the mosque so that blood will spurt on the door, then cut it up by the door and divide it, each man taking his share home to eat.

Ramadan is kept strictly by the Riffians, who do not deviate from the orthodox regulations in any way. Those who ordinarily eat pork, smoke, or drink, abstain from these practices during *Ramadan*, and scour with ashes any cooking or eating vessel which has been used for unclean food at other times. On the twenty-seventh night of this fast they believe that the sky opens and that a man who gazes fixedly at it may see God. If he does he dies instantly and is carried to heaven. On the last night, which is the *Aid es Sghir*, everyone washes well and dresses in clean clothing. The father measures out with his hands three double handfuls of barley for each person in the house. He then sends for a poor woman to come and take it, before which no one in the house may eat.

On each day of the *Aid el Kebir*, which lasts three days, each household kills a sheep and eats it. The men and women go about from house to house in the *bone*, the men dividing into age groups, and the women all banding together. The unmarried boys form two groups, the very young and the adolescent, and play games, wrestle, and play at government. They imitate the councils, also Arab forms of government, appointing a *kaid*, a *pasha*,[3] and *mokhazniya*.[4] The boys hold mock trials and send each other to jail. The young married men form a third group, the chief diversion of which is the exchange of obscene stories. The last group consists of the middle-aged and old men, who amuse themselves by reminiscing and narrating legends.

Each night comes the dramatic presentation by the *ishuikhen*, unmarried men who dress themselves up to represent certain characters and act out parts. The dramas are always comic and inevitably obscene. Staid persons who at any other time would be shocked at the sight or description of any obscene or sacrilegious act cast aside their repressions and enter heartily into the fun.

The scenes and situations enacted differ from tribe to tribe and at times change, but the general type and technique are always the same. A description of the carnival presented in parts of Gzennaya, Beni Urriaghel, and Beni Turin, follows. Descriptions of others may be found in Moulieras [5] and Westermarck.[6]

[1] Pages 182, 203–204.

[2] Pages 199–206. Westermarck eliminates the strong association with the idea of Jews by calling it *ex post facto*, and by bringing in parallels from other regions. For the present purpose, whether the Jewish factor be original or superimposed, as Westermarck has well demonstrated, in either case it indicates a degree of Jewish influence at some period of time.

[3] This Turkish title is applied in Morocco to mayors of cities.

[4] Guards, gendarmes, or retainers.

[5] Vol. I, pp. 100–111.

[6] Vol. II, pp. 133–158.

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There are eight rôles enacted by the *ishuikhen*; the Christians, the Christian women, the Jews, the Jewish women, the animals, their drivers, the Muslimin, and their wives. Those representing Christians imitate Christian clothing as best they can with cloth tied, not sewed together. They stick on moustaches of goats' hair, and put on leggings of grass matting. They carve great hats with broad brims out of yucca blades, make bandoliers from split strands of it, and attach small mirrors to their breasts in imitation of medals.

The "Christian women" imitate luxuriant hair with the woolen braids used by Riffian women. On top of their heads they attach white cloths with feathers sticking out of them. A yucca-cord belt is tied around the waist so tightly that it can be drawn in no farther, and onions or pomegranates are thrust under the shirt to look like breasts.

The "Jews" wear long beards of wool stuck on with a mixture of flour and eggs. They drape long white or black cloths around their bodies and tie red or black kerchiefs on the backs of their heads.

Those representing Jewish women wear long black cloths reaching to the ground.

The "animals," — lions, jackals, donkeys, cows, calves, and dogs — wear tails to which have been tied feathers and tufts of goat hair. The "donkey" wears over his face a donkey skull so cut as to allow his face partly to enter it. The "dog" has a long muzzle made of cork, wood, or cloth, and often has a jackal skin tied on his back. The "lions" disguise their faces only by smearing them with black and red pigments. A wooden phallus with onions or pomegranates for testes is attached to each "animal" excepting the "cow," who has a cloth udder with pendant cloth nipples fastened about his groins, and wears real cow horns tied to his head.

Those playing the parts of Muslimin wear large scrips full of ashes, representing gunpowder, and carry wooden rifles. The Jews and Christians carry these as well, and some of the latter drag log cannons.

The most effeminate looking youths are chosen to represent the wives of the Muslimin. They shave, use rouge and kohl, and draw the conventional tattoo marks on their faces with ink. They wear earrings and false hair.

The identity and preparations of the actors are kept secret beforehand. The *ishuikhen* dress and make up in the mosque or in a predetermined house; when ready they enter the houses of the *bone*, one after another, and stage their performance. Crowds follow them from house to house and witness the act over and over again.

First the Jews and their wives come in. They pair off in couples and dance over the floor, carrying on ribald conversation, snatching away each other's wives, approaching with wooden phalli, the women dancing with other men and throwing ashes out of scrips at each other.

After this has gone on for some time the Jews hold a wedding. While this is in progress the donkey and his driver enter. The Jews set the bride upon the donkey's back, and the donkey throws her off, whereupon the Jews become angry and shout incoherently. They then kneel down to hold a prayer, which a Judge leads. The Judge faces west and the Jews in all directions. In the prayer the Judge expounds the *ḥarram* and the *ḥallal* in a loud voice, reversing everything from its normal condition, calling it permissible to eat pork, permissible to commit adultery with a good-looking woman, and forbidden to do so with an ugly one. The extent of these *ḥarram* and *ḥallal* distinctions is limited only by the imagination of the Judge.

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While this is happening all the rest of the animals come running in and attack the Jews, who throw down their ashes and wooden guns and run away to hide. The animals, when the Jews have disappeared, are herded into a corner by their drivers. Then the Christians come in talking together loudly in a gibberish of extemporised sounds; an interpreter pretends to translate what they are saying to the audience, and accredits them with ludicrous and obscene conversation. He announces that the Christians have ordered all the attractive Moslem girls brought to the headquarters, one girl each day, for the enjoyment of the *ḥakim*, as the officer in charge of a tribal bureau is called.

After this the Christians dance with their wives, and then sit down and pretend to eat from bits of broken crockery which they have brought with them. The situation of people eating from separate utensils is in itself highly ludicrous to the Riffians.

After the meal the Christians and their wives dance again, after which the *ḥakim* performs his duties of administration. Prisoners are brought in, interviewed, and sentenced, and Muslimin who are not prisoners come in and try to sell things to the officers. Neither side understands the other, the Muslimin speaking *thamazighth* and the Christians still jabbering their gibberish. They begin to fight, and the tribal council convenes. The councillors appoint a crier, who shouts, "There is no god but God; O Muslimin, let us make holy war."

Then the *jihad*, or holy war, commences, both sides throwing ashes at each other, and the Christians dragging in cannon. While the fight is going on the Jews sneak out of hiding and going over to the Christian and Mohammedan women sitting on the side steal from them the eggs, meat, and bread which they are holding. One of the Jews makes a speech excusing this theft, saying that the ancestors of the Jews formerly had a great city and a great empire, but that the wild animals came in and destroyed their places and drove them out. Now they must steal to get a little of their property back. The Jews then go around the audience and collect eggs, almonds, sugar, and money.

Meanwhile the war is going on, all of the participants being by this time covered with ashes. Some of the contestants pretend to die or be wounded, and the women of their sides pick them up and take them to a corner, where they bandage the wounded. When most or all of them have simulated death, one woman from each side goes over to the corner where they are lying and touches all of her own kind, bringing them to life again. Finally the Muslimin win, and the Christians depart. The crier announces that the Christians have departed and that government and justice will be restored to the land.

Then the animals and their drivers come to the fore again, the drivers attempt to mount and are thrown, and the cow is milked.

After this they go to another house and give the performance again.

The *ishuikhen* perform once in each house in the village, excepting in those of "soured" individuals who do not approve of this vulgarity and will not permit it on their premises.

SUPERNATURAL BEINGS

Besides the Deity and the historic characters concerned with the Semitic religions, such as the prophets and the *soḥaba*, the Riffians commonly believe in nine types of supernatural being, only two of which are intimately associated with Islam. These are as follows:

1. *malakin*, the Semitic angels.

2. *jnun*, the jinns or genii, including the *afariṭ* and the *shaiyaṭin*. This class also includes the *thajinnishth*, a female jinn in the form of a beautiful woman, who meets men on

c) the aith(th)arba'in, or "people of the forty"[107], delegates representing the clan in the tribal council or agrau, which convened when circumstances required it (danger external to the clan or to the tribe, or murder). In theory, there were eight delegates from each khums (in tribes, which, like Aith Aryaghar were divided into five khmas), but they were given the same name even if they totaled less than forty.[108]

d) the amghar n-suq, or "market chief"[109], a person who by virtue of his position or energy took care, with his kinsmen, of policing the market, of small incidents which might occur within it, etc.

e) the abarrah, or market crier.[110]

f) the amarras, or silo guardian (in the Eastern Rif only).

G) Free Professions (fragmentary):

a) Low Class Public Functionaries: criers and weighers in markets.

b) Free Professions: merchants, healers, weavers, carpenters and masons.

c) Lowest Scale: musicians and dancers.[111]

d) Ibarudiyen: real imqqranen, possibly the most highly regarded ones in the tribe. Invited to feasts, they enacted scenes of war. Generally, two of them faced each other and improvised dialogue, while firing off their rifles[112]. These ibarudiyen were the Rifian counterpart of dramatic actors; and even in this simple detail of lack of

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organization, as in the settlement morphology and house distribution of their communities, we may discern the state of disintegration which the Rifian "republics" had attained, the individual rapaciousness of each one and the anarchy of its component parts.

Diagram of Rifian Social Structure[113]

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We see in this graphic representation of the principal units in Rifian social structure how these units are originated in the lineages (Sp. original, grupos familiares) whose three ascending categories of nuclear family (Sp. or hogar, R. nubth), lineage branch (jajgu) and lineage proper (dharfiqth), with genealogical relationship as their distinguishing characteristic, form the roots or base of the Rifian arch, as diagrammed here. On reaching ground level (in an upward direction), they become transformed into three other (larger) social units whose distinctive features are expressed above and the apex of which is the tribe (dhaqbitsh), which is bound together with its autonomous institutional parts by the institutional apex of the agrau, or tribal council, the maximal assembly in the region. This arch gives us an idea of the (relative) independence (autonomy?) of its columns, representing clans sustained by the nuclei of jma'ths; and all this gives us also an idea of the whole and of the harmony reigning between this whole and its different parts, of its consistency, of its solidity, and of the importance of all these factors.

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